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Thesis
THE PÍCARO AS A TYPE IN SPANISH LITERATURE

by
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(B.S. in P.A.L., Boston University, P.A.L., 1932)

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The Pícaro as a Type in Spanish Literature

I

Introduction of the Pícaro

The pícaro, anti-hero of the so-called picaresque novel, first struck root and grew in Spain with the "novela picaresca". He really came into being with the birth of Lazarillo de Tormes in the bed of the River Tormes, but soon took his deeds to other countries. His experiences and adventures, however, differed with different countries, and it is in the Spanish rogue that the sprightly, alert, realistic qualities are found that make up a real pícaro. In France, he reached a glorious climax in "Gil Blas de Santillana", written by a Jesuit priest, Padre Isla. The book, although the product of France, was so Spanish in character and style as to arouse a great deal of comment and conjecture, and in fact, might just as well have been written in Spain. In England, on the other hand, the picaresque influence marked a break from a novel of manners to one of character, since the doer became of prime importance. In fact, the pícaro, wherever he appeared, marked a change in the type of writing, and pointed out a movement to a new novel; thus, it not only gave a true picture of manners and customs through the adventures of a rogue, but also showed the pathway to a modern fiction.

Although the pícaro is considered as very Spanish in character, he is found in disguise in Greece, for Lucius, the hero of Apuleius' "The Golden Ass", is but a modified portrait of a character soon to be extremely popular in Spain. Although lacking in many of the frauds and tricks of the later rogue, Lucius models the pícaro in that he tells his own story, and

he is found to be a victim of chance and circumstances, even as was Lazarillo who was so soon to follow. Up from the Middle Ages through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is a slow development of a type soon to be one of the most famous in all Spanish literature. The word "pícaro" was never truly defined, and it is an interesting fact to note that this word is seldom mentioned in the picaresque novels. In "Lazarillo de Tormes", the leader of all picaresque novels, the word "pícaro" is not seen at all. Thus, it would seem that in the early part of the sixteenth century when this book made its first appearance, the word was not generally known or recognized. It is, indeed, a coined word, growing out of the rogue's own story. Many hold to the belief that "pícaro" comes from the verb "picar"--to peck or nibble at. But this theory has been refuted by Fonger de Haan in his "Pícaros y Ganapanes" (1914) in which he says that it is possible that "pícaro" is derived from piquero, a Moorish word: "Cuando la etimología de una palabra española no se encuentra en otra parte, no se prescindir de buscarlo en la lengua de los moros... ..pudiera ser que el nombre "pícaro" fuese de origen moro".

The picaresque novel grew out of a demand for something more than a hero who was such in name only; and the idea of an anti-hero, emerging as a distinct character with an individual environment gained rapid popularity and immediate success. With the withdrawal of the hero from fiction, a gap was produced which was filled only when the pícaro came along. The pícaro brought the novel down from idealism and a contemplation of the dreamer and the knights of chivalry to his level contemplation

of actual life, common people, and realistic adventures and experiences, with a development of the powers of observation as his method. The change from idealism to realism was breathtaking in its abruptness, and in all picaresque novels, it is the appeal to the senses through the pungent in odor, the repulsive to sight and touch, and the extreme in sound that makes up the most important phase of the story. In the picaresque novel are found none of the refinements of a gentle nature, but rather an exhaustive search for that which, no matter how coarse or repulsive, would give immediate satisfaction.

Thus, the picaresque novel, which was grossly realistic, emphasized the coarser, lower elements of life and living, around which was thrown no protecting mist of fine words and phrases. And so, the literature passed from the chivalresque novels with their heroes, and perfection of character, surroundings, and living, to the picaresque novels, and their anti-heroes stripped of all glamour and romance, yet in spite of it all, not absolutely devoid of any redeeming feature. The grand castles and romantic listing fields of the knights gave way to the low haunts and prosaic gutters of the pícaros; the noble ideals and courage of the heroes of chivalry made way for the tricks, fraudulent cheating, and cowardice of the pícaro. It is often true, however, that under all the filth and rags of the lowest Spanish rogue was an individual courage and chivalry that, had it been given half a chance, might have grown and developed admirably. Low as he may have fallen, black as he may have been painted, no pícaro was all bad, but like all heroes, had a

likable quality about him. Monipodio held steadfastly to his given word--when it was to his advantage, of course, but that was the rogue of him and the fact remains that he did keep his word, and forced his band to fall in line; Lazarillo fed his poor and proud "escudero", and regretted his passing. The conflict of life now became against hunger and other bodily discomforts instead of against imaginary giants, dragons, and other enemies of the chivalresque knight. Trickery became the pícaro's weapon in place of the more romantic sword, and fraudulent gain was his one all-consuming aim in a life that must be lived somehow in a race for a survival of the fittest.

The rogue was a product of the decadence of social conditions in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Feudalism began to crumble in Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in the resultant change from a system of the feudal lords and barons of medievalism to a system of alliance between the people and the monarch where each did his own work, nobles, people, and entire towns lost their way in a maze of confusion and upset. The only chance for an advancement was through the Church, the army, or civil administration, and patient labor and an honest living were disdained. The stern persecution of the Jews and Moors which finally ended with their expulsion during the early part of the seventeenth century was a harsh blow to common labor, for these two classes were the only ones who stooped to common toil of a productive nature. The military projects which kept the men abroad served to camouflage the real conditions at home; but what was gained

abroad was balanced by the total lack of thrift at home, for if he who remained at home would not work, and could not starve, he must turn to the art of begging as a last resort. Begging was done by means of a trickery and deception combined with clever flattery that was carefully studied and skillfully used to advantage. Living lost its romantic aspects of the chivalresque period, and was from hand to mouth; and the chivalry which was of no use to the anti-hero turned to roguery.

The peasants who renounced as unworthy beggary and idleness and who remained true to their old vocation, suffered severe oppression. Their crops were disposed of to please others with no regard for their wishes, and taxes which were out of all proportion to the amount of their holdings were levied on them. Thus, held back by manifold restrictions, unmercifully oppressed, forced to face starvation, cruelly disregarded and despised for their honest labor, what wonder that the honest peasant gave up the struggle as too unequal and became a rogue among rogues. Life became a question of individual effort, and a survival of the fittest, of "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." This naturally led to selfishness, indifference to others' joys and pains, loss of sympathetic pity except in rare instances, and gradually these chief characteristics of the picaresque novel held wholehearted sway over the emotions of the reading public.

Thus, the pícaro grew out of the changing social conditions, and in his story marked a bitter protest against oppression and inequality of class as it existed at that time. He exposed the

vices of his day, and taken from life as he is with no romantic or imaginative spell woven around him, he is an excellent instrument of satire.

When he was ten, his father died, and he was left to his mother's care. He was a very bright boy, and he was very fond of reading. He was also very fond of playing with his friends. He was a very kind and generous boy, and he was very popular among his friends. He was a very good student, and he was very well liked by his teachers. He was a very successful boy, and he was very happy. He was a very good person, and he was very kind. He was a very good friend, and he was very loyal. He was a very good son, and he was very obedient. He was a very good brother, and he was very helpful. He was a very good man, and he was very brave. He was a very good leader, and he was very strong. He was a very good warrior, and he was very skilled. He was a very good soldier, and he was very brave. He was a very good captain, and he was very wise. He was a very good general, and he was very powerful. He was a very good king, and he was very just. He was a very good emperor, and he was very kind. He was a very good ruler, and he was very fair. He was a very good leader, and he was very strong. He was a very good warrior, and he was very skilled. He was a very good soldier, and he was very brave. He was a very good captain, and he was very wise. He was a very good general, and he was very powerful. He was a very good king, and he was very just. He was a very good emperor, and he was very kind. He was a very good ruler, and he was very fair.

The Spanish pícaro was one who occupied a place far removed from that held by the courtesans, and in his name, "pícaro", is found nothing of the ideal of high honor, self-sacrifice, and noble ideals of his predecessors in the novel. Born of poor and disinterested parents, he is thrust out into the world at a tender age to grow to the state of manhood as best he can. He learns his lessons in life's school, with his only teacher, bitter experience, and through the many hard raps meted out to him, he learns that he must take care of himself or go down to an inescapable and irrevocable destruction. So, in order to live, the pícaro must serve some master. The gains of such a service he finds are so meagre that they must be swelled by gains of roguery, and by observation he picks up little deeds of deceit and fraud, making them his, until it becomes second nature to him to deceive and trick. The pícaro hastens from master to master, forgetting each as he leaves him, and making no close contacts with any. In his eagerness to gain a livelihood, he successfully outwits each master in deeds of roguery, until there comes detection, a day of reckoning, and he is forced to move on to someone new. The pícaro is never still; the restlessness of his character, and the method of living keep him continually on the alert, and we no sooner get to know one master before another is thrust before us. Thus, having run through the fortunes and changes of human existence, the Spanish rogue brings his story to a close, always promising more, however, through the simple fact that until his life is

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finished, his story can have no real end. Sometimes, with Lazarillo de Tormes, the pícaro has attained some modest goal and indicates a relinquishing of his fraudulent tricks for a life of honest work, but more often he is farther than ever from his goal--if such he had at all.

The Spanish pícaro lives his life at a time when the individual must battle against society for a comfortable living, or for any living at all. Because of this, his character is marked by a spirit of avarice. It is not a miserly avarice, however, but merely one of getting--not of holding. The pícaro's real enemy is nature, and his life soon becomes a struggle for the survival of the fittest. Under this influence, then, the pícaro makes no friends whom he would not betray, were such a betrayal to his own advantage, and his idea of romance and love has as its end, profitable marriage. Material gain becomes his little god and on its altar, he is prepared to burn a sacrifice of friendship and love alike. There is nothing malicious about the pícaro, however, with the possible exception of Lazarillo's treatment of his blind master who has been so cruel to him. On the other hand, what he does is done through absolute necessity in an endeavor to live in a grasping, relentless world. The pícaro is usually made such by circumstances beyond his control, through either heredity or environment. There are excuses for the pícaro's initiation into the deeds of roguery, inasmuch as starvation and death are his only alternatives. Take, for example, Lazarillo who started out on his journey of service as the honest boy of a blind man. He is so

badly treated by the "ciego" as to be forced to become sly and crafty in order to outwit his master. Again, he must steal the sacrament bread from the priest, if his master will allow him only one onion every fourth day, and when once he has found the easiest method, it is but natural that he should put it to use again and again. Once started on the road of deceit and fraud, he is forced by subsequent masters who starve and mistreat him, to continue along the same route for a mere existence. Another example of a pícaro made by circumstances to become a rogue is found in "Guzmán de Alfarache" in Capitulo II of the Libro Segundo, which starts out: "Como Guzmán de Alfarache, dejando el ventero, se fué a Madrid y llegó hecho pícaro". There, in this chapter, we read: "Viéndome tan despedazado, aunque procuré buscar a quien servir, acreditándome con buenas palabras, ninguno se aseguraba de mis obras malas, ni quería meterme dentro de casa en su servicio, porque estaba muy asqueroso y desmantelado. Creyeron ser algun pícaro ladroncillo que los había de robar y acogerme.

"Viéndome perdido, comencé a tratar el oficio de la florida picardía." In this quotation, rests the importance of the book--Guzmán "llegó hecho pícaro", and continued a pícaro to the end.

The pícaro's scale of emotion is exceedingly low, and character-development is lacking altogether. His progress, after he has started upon the path of trickery and deceit is merely one of sharpening wits in order to increase his opportunities, and to wrest from life what he considers to be rightly his. Today

' "Guzmán de Alfarache", Mateo de Alemán, Cap. II, Book II, p. 155.

he may be rich, tomorrow poor--to him it makes no difference. The past is gone and is to be forgotten; the future is yet to be --too intangible to be considered much; but the present is at hand, to be lived--his for what he can make it. Hope and despair, to a certain extent, he does know. Despair and fear lest he be conquered by life and its many pitfalls, with accompanying downfall and death; hope that he may attain some degree of comfort and well-being along the way he must travel. Lázaro shows a very decided degree of despair upon the death of his hermit friend under whose roof he has sought shelter. Fearing to be accused of murder, when he discovers that the hermit is dying, he runs to some shepherds, getting them to the hermitage in time to witness the death of the old man. Even here, however, avarice and a strong desire to acquire something overcome his emotion, and he turns the situation to an advantage which later brings its own retribution for wrongdoing.

On the whole, the pícaro does not lament his fate, but takes life as he finds it and does his best to turn it to his advantage. Forced to an existence of fraud, he knows no other life, and living thus, when a stroke of good fortune comes his way, considers himself the most fortunate of mortals, praising his fortune with Guzmán, saying: "¡Oh tú, dichoso dos, tres, y cuatro veces, que a la mañana te levantas a las horas que quieres, decuidado de servir ni ser servido! Que aunque es trabajo tener amo, es mayor tener mozo, como luego diremos. Al mediodía, la comida segura, sin pagar cocinero ni despensero, ni enviar por carbón mojado a la tienda, que te traigan piedras y

"Guzmán de Alfarache", page 168

"tierra, y sabe Dios por que se disimula. Sin cuidado de la gala, sin temor de la mancha ni codicia del recamado. Libre de guardar, sin recelo de perder, no envidioso, no sospecho, sin ocasión de mentir y maquinar para privar." This, however, was, as it were, a pícaro's "Utopia", and there came times when, with Lazarillo de Tormes, he needs must turn himself into a snake or rat in order to overcome the pangs of a deathly hunger. Like other pícaros, Lazarillo forgets one master in the service of another, going from one to another with an almost apathetical acceptance of things as they are, yet ever on the alert to take advantage of circumstances. The pícaro's philosophy is that of Guzmán, that "porque quien da mas voces tiene mas justicia y vence las mas veces con ellas, yo daba tantas que no le dejaba hablar, y si hablaba, que no le oyesen, haciéndole el juego mana."

The Spanish pícaro does not find in life any problems to solve, or questions to ponder. He avoids these as much as possible in an attempt to find the easiest and most comfortable way out of a labyrinth of doubt and struggle with which he feels nothing in common. In his endeavors to get without spending too much, he displays great skill and patience, but his skill ends there. He has no ingenuity or desire to plan a way to keep that which he already has. The pícaro is a ready learner, however, and fleeced of his money by a clever trick, is never caught again by that particular trick. On the other hand, he makes it his own, and so gains. Lazarillo, eating grapes with his blind master, soon catches on to the fact that the "ciego" has been

¹"Guzmán de Alfarache", page 228.

doubling up on him, and so works it that he gets more than his share of the delicacy, using the master's own deceit, but astutely adding a grape each time the "ciego" does, thereby keeping always one ahead. Such are the pícaro's lessons. He is liked by rich and poor alike, and is equally at home among the kings and nobles of diplomatic circles, or among his companions of the gutter. The rich find him an interesting and entertaining character, who has the ability to amuse them; the poor admire him for the clever genius and tricks he shows off before their astonished gaze. The pícaro has the happy faculty of being able to bow before royalty with the same ease and self-confidence with which he mingles with his companions of the lowly hut and squalid street. He admits no ambitions, but seems perfectly content to be employed merely in gathering to himself common experiences and crude, oftentimes repulsive sensations around which he succeeds in weaving an ingenious and compelling story. There is but little idealism in the pícaro's make-up, and a great deal of realism. This realism makes him delight in describing in detail, repulsive moments in his life that, at times, cause the reader to recoil in disgust.

Lazarillo's sausage-episode, cleverly told in minutest detail with no welcoming veil thrown over its repulsive side, is well-known to readers of picaresque novels. Yet, withal, the pícaro is a lovable character, appealing for his childlike vivacity, and refreshing spontaneity which he retains to the end of his story. He never grows old, to lose the zest and desire to conquer others that makes his life such an interesting and

appealing one.

The Spanish pícaro is an inconsistent rogue. One may see him kneeling in the "hampa" of Sevilla where Monipodio sways his sceptre, kissing the crucifix with deepest reverence and devotion, then rising to receive from Monipodio his assignment for the day or week. He is told those parts in which he is to go about robbing and picking pockets; those in which he is to resort to the art of begging, together with the list of knife-thrusts he is to deliver for pay for some misdemeanor among those not in the organized group. When the rogue's artifices are discovered, and he is pursued, he takes refuge in the Church, and is discovered clinging to the altar for protection, while alguacils and religious authorities quarrel over the right to his person. Beyond the evidence presented by his senses, however, the pícaro has no beliefs. He, for the most part, is free from the beliefs and paramount superstitions of his time. Lazarillo scores the so-called miracles of the indulgence sellers with whom he comes in contact; Guzmán discredits all beliefs in the sayings of astrologers; and Marcos de Obregón takes great delight in exposing the baffling tricks of magicians. The rogue's opinions and beliefs are secondary, however, to his experiences. He is the person to whom things happen; and it is what he suffers that interests one, not what he says or does. It is his account of these experiences that makes up the rogue-story, and thus, the various vicissitudes through which he passes are more important than the pícaro himself.

The varying and colorful experiences of the rogue's story

begins at the very beginning, for he is born into strange circumstances which help toward making him what he is. Lazarillo de Tormes was born in the bed of the river from which he took his name. His father was a miller who was forced to flee for "bleeding" his sacks, and his mother kept an eating house. She became infatuated with a Moorish man, the groom in a stable, with whom, after her husband's departure, she goes to live. Guzmán de Alfarache came into the world as the result of an intrigue between an extremely religious Genoese and the mistress of an ecclesiastic. Thus, it is plain to see, the pícaro had the way to a career of fraud and cheating already prepared for him, and it did not take him long to get started on such a career.

Lazarillo's life of trickery is started by his first master, the cruel blind man. He realizes his urgent need for sharp wits when the "ciego" pretending to hear some noise within a stone bull carved on a bridge at Salamanca, asks Lazarillo to listen. He then bangs Lazarillo's head forcefully against the stone bull, exclaiming at the same time: "Necio, aprende que el mozo de un ciego ha de saber un punto mas que el diablo." Unlike Lazarillo de Tormes, however, Marcos de Obregón started out in a university, to be enticed away later by visions of an easier and freer means of existence. Marcos was the exception, for most of the pícaros start out with little or no education and academic advantages. They step directly into the game of life, going in pursuit of adventure. Later, then, they come to the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá to study the duties of a doctor with Lazarillo, or theology with Guzmán. For the

¹ "Lazarillo de Tormes"--Berkowitz and Wofsy, Johnson Publishing Company, page 11.

greater part, however, service, travel, fraud, and trickery occupy the pícaro's time and mind whether it be in youth or old age.

But a word concerning the pícara should not be omitted in this treatment of the Spanish rogue, for she held a very definite place by the side of the pícaro. With the aid of her well-employed feminine wiles, she plays upon the sympathies of rich suitors by trickery extracting from them that which she desires, and then leaves her lover heartlessly, to regret his folly and weakness. The best-known of all Spanish pícaras is, of course, Celestina, the great "go-between" in the tragedy of Calixto and Melibea, yet she is extremely revolting. More amusing and witty is the much-married Teresa of Solórzano. She is the typical rogue; she contracts many marriages, none of which are of importance, but from which she emerges the winner. She, like the pícaro, goes through diverse terms of service, as a hair-dresser through varying stages of development to become an actress. She never tires of doing ill, but amuses by her wit and determination to conquer all obstacles. The pícaras, working along with the other rogue characters in "Rinconete y Cortadillo" are bold and brazen creatures who excite only contempt and disgust. There is one possible exception, however, in the old woman, who, although she steals even from her own companions, is sincere in her devotions and less outspoken than the others; but like the pícaros, all bow to the will of the master, Monipodio.

The pícaro, with the easy-going freedom and versatility of

his kind, is able to play the roles of many different types with an ease that is remarkable. It makes no particular difference to him whether he is an actor of many parts, a poet unversed in the art of expressing poetic moods, a beggar with painted wounds taking money at Church doors, a barber, or any of the multiple characters undertaken by him and his friends. As a doctor, the pícaro goes about on his mule, with solemn demeanor telling people what they know already, only using long words with which to do it, in order that they may become confused and believe him high in the learning that he professes. He knows well that order of rogues who maim children with which to beg; and he himself paints wounds on his legs and arms, and crouches before Church door soliciting alms.

Through every adventure, and in all his wanderings, the pícaro is subject to events. He never quite masters the art of subjecting the winds of chance to his desires, but is blown hither and thither, like a rudderless bark on a storm-tossed sea. Sometimes he is scaling the heights of mountainous waves, again he is thrust down into the deeps between the waves. He is unable to hold a fixed course, but veers off on a new tack with each master; the idea of will is lacking, the idea of fate is all-pervading. If he have a desired goal, all he can ask is that a fair wind and favorable current carry him to his haven. Like Lazarillo, if he attain to the modest, but honest position of town-crier, he will ask for no more. Whatever position he may reach, however, it is dependent on circumstances alone, and not on the pícaro himself. He is, then, a point about which

revolves an adequate description of the manners and customs of the society of his day. In viewing the picture of contemporary life which the pícaro draws, we find no order, other than that present in the recounting of his adventures. His descriptions do not take society at its best, but begin with the low classes and then lead to higher. Lazarillo begins his service with a blind beggar, goes from him to a miserly priest, then to a member of the decayed nobility; while Guzmán who serves a cook and an innkeeper, rises to be a cardinal's page.

There is a lack of sentiment in the pícaro's make-up that is to be expected from one thrown to the mercies of chance and change as he is. Yet, now and then, a bit crops out that acts as a sort of redeeming grace in a rather too realistic setting. Such a bit, Lazarillo shows in his treatment of the poor "escudero"--the master of whom he said: "Así como he contado, me dejó mi pobre tercer amo, y entonces acabe de conocer mi ruin dicha.....De ordinario los amos suelen ser dejados de los mozos, pero en este caso fuí mi amo quien me dejó y huyó de mi." The pícaro's treatment of love and marriage is distinctive. Love holds but a small space in the pícaro's life, not because he thinks it little, but because he esteems material possession more. Marriage for him is a profitable gain, and beyond that he does not go. The true creed for all pícaro-affection is expressed by the pícara Justina in a couplet:

² "Tanto crece el amor, quanto la pecunia crece,
Que hoy día todo à él se rinde y todo le obedece."

The pícaro plans cheating marriages and often carries them out,

² "Libro de Entretenimiento de la Pícara Justina", Vol. I,
pages 35 and 36.

¹ "Lazarillo de Tormes", page 83.

but the theme of unsentimental love set forth, is relieved by a humor that is its necessary qualification.

Such is the pícaro. His device is an exceedingly simple one, and we find in him a contradiction in the fact that he appears to be everything, yet nothing. He is everything in action, nothing in character-study, yet his versatility, ready wit, humor, and child-like attitude, secure for him a firm place in our hearts, free from condemnation.

For the theme of antiquity, love and truth is followed by a
which seems to be necessary and sufficient.
From the above, his theme is an essence and a
one, and we find in him a contradiction in the fact that he
appears to be everything, yet nothing. He is everything in
action, existing in character-traits, yet his character, which
vital, human, and child-like qualities, seems for him a life
place in our world, from that contradiction.

The pícaro touches all classes of society, he knows all kinds of people intimately, and hobnobs with them all on an equal standing. Students, robbers, gypsies, barbers, players, beggars, the professional lawyers and doctors, and the clergy--all thron the pages of the picaresque novel, and to them all the pícaro gives of his time and attention.

The soldier is an important leader in the pícaro's life, and adopting many of the rogue's tricks, gets along through fraudulent gain of money or clothing. Marcos de Obregón belonged to a troupe that was tireless in its feats of roguery. It came to grief, however, through these very tricks and its failure to pay the proper respect due to an "alcalde". When Guzmán de Alfarache held the honorable position of page at the ambassador's, a soldier inviting himself to dinner, explains his forwardness away by remarking that as a soldier, the table of any king is none too good for him. In accordance with the rogue's custom, the pícaro soldier takes life as a matter of course, and turns his profession to self-advantage by pretending serious wounds after he has received his preliminary pay for enlistment. Then, by taking refuge in the Church, he escapes duty that is active.

The soldier plays a leading part in the picaresque novels, it is true, but in no way does the man of the law escape. Because of the pícaro's trade, attention and emphasis is placed on those officers of the law who mete out justice. These pícaro alguacils are usually of a cowardly disposition; like those who, when Lazarillo was eating, frightened him nearly to death by

shouting: "Hold him, arrest him!" while in reality each was covertly attempting to hide behind the other as a safety measure. The rogue's profession brings him into eternal conflict and struggle with the alguacils, the judge, and the dark prison walls. In the picaresque novels, however, bribes are quite the proper thing and more than one prison-sentence was shortened by the sly exchange of a few pieces of silver. The pícaro's purse, when wisely used, led to comfort in jail, and often to freedom itself. Buscón, after keeping himself out of the dungeon for a short while through the clever spending of his money, is finally thrown down into this dungeon by his guard in an effort to get more money out of him. His abject misery and mistreatment by the alguacil finally force him to accede to the guard's demands, and he is allowed to come up from his torture chamber. With the pícaro active in law, under no circumstances are the guilty apprehended or ever punished. Rather, the innocent, bowed down under the disdain and the scorn of their captors and tormentors, are marched away to languish away in captivity, victims of careless indifference. On the other hand, the pícaro himself sometimes goes to jail through error. Such a one was Marcos de Obregón, who, while out walking one day, met an acquaintance who accused him of being old. Marcos strongly denied the charge and in order to prove his point, challenged his friend to a race. They gave their cloaks and swords to a by-stander, but while they were off running, the fellow vanished with their things. In the meanwhile, a woman in the vicinity was stabbed, and the alguacils pursued the racing Marcos. In vain did Marcos and

his friend declare their innocence, for they could prove absolutely nothing, and their cloaks and swords were gone from that place in which they vowed they had left them. On such purely circumstantial evidence, then, the poor pícaros were led away to spend several months behind jail bars. The officers of justice are as clever in their fraudulent tricks as are the pícaros themselves, and at times seem to outdistance them in cleverness and sly cheating. The alguacil-master of Lazarillo was one of these, for finding himself in a rather tight place after having wrongfully charged an indulgence-seller with fraud, he feigns a fit, and by arousing the superstitious minds and religious fervor of the people, is rewarded with half the profits pertaining to the sale. Frank W. Chandler says: "In the parlance of the pícaro, the motto that serves for all of the profession seems to be, Set a thief to catch a thief."

In spite of the fact that the Church does not escape the satire of the pícaro, he is very careful in his treatment of this organization, for the influence of the Spanish Inquisition is still strong enough to cause hesitancy in playing with the clergy. The pícaro's satire on the Church was witty and gentle rather than harsh, and usually did not appear to be seriously intended. The pícara Justina devotes a large amount of space to the Church, and is well-nigh incorrigible in her laughter and callousness towards things considered by most to be sacred. The book, however, is given a pseudo-air of reverence by a peculiar system of morals which are added to each chapter. The most hateful of those addicted to the service of the Church is, without

doubt, the miserly priest whom Lazarillo served, and in whose service he nearly starved. It was only when his master officiated at funerals that Lazarillo was able to appease his gnawing hunger, and so he is led to pray fervently that people would die. One day, however, he had made a key that would fit the lock of the chest in which his master kept the bread and provisions of food. After that, when his master went out, Lazarillo would open the chest and take out small bits of bread to eat. His master soon missed the bread, and the loss was blamed on to rats. Therefore, trap after trap was set with no success, until one day a neighbor suggested that it might be a snake. That night, Lazarillo slept with the key to the "arca" in his mouth, and during his sleep, breathed through the key in such a way as to make a slight whistling sound. The master, believing it to be the snake, took up a stick and beat the poor boy into unconsciousness. The terrible mistake discovered, he nursed Lázaro back to health, then turned him out to seek a new master. In spite of his unfortunate experience, however, the Church seemed to have a fascination for him, and he next entered the service of a friar. This master is but of secondary importance, and his next close connection with the Church was with the Archpriest of Salvador whose handmaid he married.

The pícaro, although careful in his handling of the Church, was quick to see the hold religion had on the people, and so used it to further his own schemes. Under the heading of the Church comes a sub-head, a class most bitterly assailed in the picaresque novels for its hypocrisy and a class very common in

Spain during the seventeenth century. This sub-head was the hermit-class, composed of people who, according to themselves, had gone into seclusion as a result of the fall of what they had set up as ideals and idols. However, never is a hermit found so vexed and disillusioned that he neglects an opportunity to make a profit, even though such a profit must come through fraudulent tricks and roguery. As a matter of fact, most hermits use their so-called solitude and unworldly attitude only as a mask for their deeds of roguery. Thus, the typical hermit of the picaresque novel is as much a rogue as the pícaro himself. There is always the exception to the rule, however, and the exception of the hermit-class is found in the hermit who meets Lazarillo at the Church door and who tells him of the joys and satisfactions of a hermit's life: "Aquí," dijo el buen viejo, "hace veinte años que vivo lejos del tumulto y de la inquietud humana. Este es, hermano, el paraíso terrestre. Aquí medito en las cosas divinas y en las humanas.....Aquí pienso en mi mala vida pasada y en la buena vida futura que me espera. Aquí, finalmente, paso una vida feliz y tranquila." Speaking thus, the hermit is suddenly stricken with a strange and fatal disease. Lazarillo, fearing that if he is found there alone with the dead man, he will be accused of murder, rushes out and brings in some shepherds to witness the death of the old man. When they return, they discover that all the dying hermit can say is "Sí"; Lazarillo, who never allows an opportunity to pass him by, leads the hermit to say that he, Lazarillo, is his only remaining heir, while one of the shepherds takes down the testimony. Soon

¹ "La Vida de un Pícaro", page 56

after, the hermit dies and after his burial, Lazarillo discovers his money under an altar. Crowds gather to pay a last homage to the memory of the good hermit, and Lazarillo, having donned the saintly mantle, secures a rich living from the poor, hoodwinked pilgrims. He later, however, meets the hermit's family whose tears at the news of his death soon turn to curses when they discover that his money was left to Lazarillo. The latter proposes marriage to the daughter, but on his wedding morning, awakes to find himself tied to his bed and forced to remain there while hot and cold water is poured over him. Thus, he is content to escape with his very life from the family of the pious hermit.

The chief pícaro among the hermits is Crispín, the hermit of Solórzano's "La Garduña de Sevilla". He is, however, a victim of fate and the machinations of two other characters in the novel, Rufina and Garay. Through subterfuge, Rufina gains access to Crispín's cell, and after his departure on a begging tour, she and Garay ransack the cell. After his return, the two give him a sleeping potion, and make off with his hidden wealth. He later discovers his loss; calls his servant, Jaime; digs up some coin, hidden in case of a "rainy day"; and sets out for Toledo in pursuit of the fleeing pair, in order to revenge himself upon them. Rufina and Jaime, however, quite unexpectedly fall in love. Jaime gains large sums of money from the hermit by begging and robbing, and the two flee, after giving away poor Crispín, who is later captured and hanged.

The doctors of the picaresque novels do not receive the

kind treatment accorded to the clergy. They are the ones who took people when they were at a decided disadvantage, in a weakened condition, and forced them to undergo all sorts of cures, which were not really cures at all, but designed to prolong the disease. The doctors knew that if health returned, the patient would praise his pícaro-doctor; if death came, no one could blame. Like all other types of the pícaro, the médico is ever on the lookout for fraudulent gain and profit. No better example of this can be found than in "Guzmán de Alfarache".

Guzmán sits begging before the Church door, with painted ulcers on his leg. Finally attracting the attention of a kind Cardinal, he is taken before the best physicians of the city, to be cured at the Cardinal's expense. Fearing that his deceit will be discovered, he tells the doctors everything. They listen, and finally arrange to hide his cheating if he will share the Cardinal's bounty with them. He agrees, and the "wound" is gradually healed to the great satisfaction of all interested.

In spite of the fact that in their efforts to cure, the doctors used freakish methods, not understanding the meaning of the word "common-sense", nothing seemed to shake the people's faith in their physicians, and the pícaros were not slow in availing themselves of benefits accruing from such complete confidence. The pícara Justina profits from the illness of Sancha Gómez by asking a barber to play the role of physician. After examining Sancha carefully, he prescribes poultices of bacon, new bread, and egg and honey. The trustful Sancha is overjoyed that by a strange coincidence, she happens to have in

the house all he mentioned, and delivers to him the storeroom key. So, after she is poulticed and wrapped in blankets from head to feet, the two rogues dine gluttonously, helping themselves to whatever pleases their fancies and palates.

Least likable of all pícaros are the innkeepers that appear in the novels of roguery. In spite of this, however, they throng the pages of the novels; but whatever show they make of service and honesty, is mere pretence. If, perchance, there appear an honest innkeeper, who tries to do well by his patrons, his bad-luck and lack of success are plain, and he soon goes down to an ignominious defeat. Such a one was the father of Guzmán's second wife, but he was forced into bankruptcy, and his family was turned out of doors. Not only does the innkeeper refuse service to his guests, but he also robs them of whatever he can; giving in return a filthy room, unappetizing food, a very uncomfortable bed, and in his heart plots a means of taking from him even that little which has been given.

More important, however, than any of the preceding types is the hidalgo, or "escudero". For the most part, he escapes the bitter satire of the pícaro, and becomes instead a likable master to be fed, served, and aided. Here, an unexplainable, kindly feeling is shown by the pícaro towards his master--a proud, threadbare, starving nobleman who excites in every heart a throb of pity and a sense of protectiveness. The leader of all of these proud noblemen, of course, is the one whom Lazarillo serves. Well and nobly dressed and walking about the city with an air of ease and importance, he meets the boy at a time when he has

just been thrown out by the miserly priest. Lazarillo eagerly accepts the escudero's invitation to serve him as a page, for by external appearances, it would seem that at last he has found a master who will support him and be kind to him. So, he follows his master about all day, but gets nothing to eat, for the hidalgo declares that he has breakfasted early and never dines until evening. Poor Lazarillo is nearly starved, and upon pulling forth some crusts gained in begging, attempts to satiate his hunger. The unguarded, wistful expression on the hidalgo's face as he watches Lazarillo eat prompts the boy to share his mean food with his new master. Lázaro's hopes of a supper are dashed rudely to the ground when, at nightfall, the escudero says that the market is too far away, and that there is nothing better for one than eating little. They return to a dark and fearsome house, and Lazarillo is forced to prepare their poor and hard beds, and lies down to be kept awake by the bitter pangs of hunger. Little by little, he realizes that his master has no money with which to buy food, and that his boundless pride will not allow him to beg, so once more the pícaro takes up his old profession of begging in order to keep life in his own body and in that of his master whom he likes in spite of everything. Matters go from bad to worse, however, until one day the escudero goes out on the pretense of changing a gold piece, and never returns.

Close upon the heels of the proud and interesting hidalgos comes the less important company of muleteers, barbers, and players. The pícaro is, of course, an inveterate wanderer; a

piece of chaff, as it were, blown hither and thither by the winds of chance, and for that reason, the restless life of the player naturally appealed to him very strongly. He soon discovers, however, that acting is by no means all play, and much adverse to work, he soon abandons the life of a player. Along with Guzmán, the pícaros learn that in summer, when the weather is hot, the audience is restless and complaining; when it storms, there is no audience at all, restless or otherwise; and when a member of the royalty dies, all performances must be immediately cancelled. The life of a pícaro-actor, however, is varied and colorful, and it falls to some to borrow mantles and cloaks for costumes, most of which are never returned, of course; to others to collect varied products as entrance fees; and to all to sleep often on the ground with arms crossed in order to keep warm when no cloak or blanket is available.

The most important of all pícaros, however, and the most interesting, are the mendicant-pícaros. The first master under whom Lazarillo serves, the old "ciego", is one of the most clever of this type. He is familiar with more than an hundred prayers which he is able to chant in a pleasing voice, with a disarming air of deep reverence and pseudo-piety, which, nevertheless, is most convincing. His cleverness and pleasing manner bring him in more money in a month than most of the order of mendicants are able to get together in a year or more.

Still more adept than this in the art of beggary was Guzmán de Alfarache. He was the possessor of the happy faculty of a universal appeal, for he was able to please alike the rich,

the poor, the high, the lowly, the pious, and those addicted to blasphemy. During his sojourn in Rome, he learned the rules of those of the mendicant class--that all nations must have individual ways of begging, and that of the Castilian was to be proud and suffering. The mendicant-pícaro was an apt pupil, and soon learned the art of raising false swellings on arms and legs, of feigning the hated disease of leprosy, and of causing pallor without real illness. Each individual pícaro had his own manner of begging and his tricks were his own. He was forever expounding upon the beauty of an art which soon became fastened on him as a habit, easy to form, hard to break--especially when one had no great desire to break it. The rogue soon learned what a large part flattery plays in persuading people to give freely and unrestrainedly, and often received a large number of "reales" through a clever twist of the tongue when only one would have been his portion otherwise. Many of the pícaros, like Marcos de Obregón, used the art of beggary as a cloak to cover their deeds, and to evade imminent capture by finding a sacristan to place them as beggars among others stationed at the Church door.

From these mendicant-pícaros, it is but a short step to the cleverly organized groups of picaros, so ably described in "Rinconete y Cortadillo", in the "hampa" of Sevilla. Here are to be found all sorts of rogues from "bravos" to pretty pícaras, blind men; beggars; Manifero, the cutthroat; and mock students--all gathered together in an organization captained by Monipodio, lord of them all. The streets of Sevilla are divided into

territories, and each pícaro is assigned his separate territory by Monipodio, which means that under no condition whatsoever must he encroach upon the territory of another, and each one is held absolutely responsible for whatever may be stolen in his particular assignment.

Frank W. Chandler in his "Romances of Roguery" gives an excellent classification of organized roguery, as taken from García's "Desordenada Codicia". According to this classification, there are the following orders of picaros in Spain: "Salteadores"--steal and kill on the highway; "Estafadores"--single out rich men, and threaten death unless a sum of money be forthcoming at a certain time; "Capeadores"--snatch cloaks in the night; "Grumetes"--thieves provided with rope ladders hooked at the top; "Apóstoles"--bear keys and are picklocks; "Cegarreros"--haunt public places, cutting off the half of a cloak or a gown; "Devotos"--religious thieves who spoil images and rely upon the moderation of Church laws for a light punishment if detected; "Sátiros"--live in the fields and are cattle thieves; "Dacianos"--kidnap children three or four years of age, and later sell them to blind men; "Mayordomos"--steal provisions and trick innkeepers; "Cortabolsas"--pickpockets and cutpurses; "Duendes"--sneak thieves; and "Maletas"--effect an entrance to houses.

In this fashion, then, all classes and kinds of society were considered by the pícaro in minutest detail. Among them all, he walked with no hesitancy; wandering off soon again to something new, but stopping long enough to show a side of his character that contained human pity for his hidalgo master.

¹ F. W. Chandler, Vol. I, Chapt. III, page 179
"Desordenada Codicia", Chapt. VII.

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Much of his life and interest, of course, is passed among those of low life, for in a novel of rogues this study of the coarser side of life would of necessity demand major consideration.

The Spanish Pícaro and his Story

It is but natural that the pícaro's story should gain a very strong foothold in Spain at this time, for it served to satisfy a desire of the people to see how the other half lived. Heretofore, literature had concerned itself with novels of chivalry, the Epic, and the Idylls, and the reading curiosity of the public had been fed with the deeds of the artificial and unreal heroes of these books. The pícaro, when he came into being, brought with him a detailed description of common experiences of ordinary man in a working world. He brought a book whose main characteristic was a story of realistic setting, and it was eagerly accepted and avidly devoured by a public which had been clamoring for something less imaginative and more natural--realistic settings rather than those of an idealistic nature. It is the story that pictures men and women like ourselves that we find most interesting. The picaresque novels appealed to everyone, therefore, because the rogue's profession brought him into contact with all classes of society. His life is one of constant movement; he always appears to be running away from somebody, or after somebody; thus, his life never has many dull moments, but is interesting, and thrilling throughout.

Because the pícaro is ever on the "qui vive", he reacts on other characters with whom he comes in contact, setting them in motion, thus giving rise to new situations which change the tempo of his story. To bring about these changes, he resorts

to trickery and fraud, yet with all this, he must not be too wicked. He must introduce a sense of humor to counteract this fraudulent character, for cheating that is unadorned gives rise to feelings of disgust and scorn. As the peasant people, through sheer necessity, had to turn from honest labor to the art of trickery and deceit, their characters underwent a decided change. From mere mechanical plodders, content with life as it came and as they lived it, they became alert, witty, alive to opportunities that might be turned to their advantage, and discontented with the humdrum existence around them.

Although in criminal statistics, the criminal and the pícaro are listed as one, there is a very real distinction between them. The pícaro is guilty of almost every criminal activity, yet there is nothing black-hearted or menacingly vindictive about him. What he does, is done because he is forced into it as the plaything of an upset and dissatisfied society. It is necessity that forces him to steal and beg; and a deed once committed, he consigns it to the past, to think no more about it. The problem of a guilty conscience and of a brooding nature is lacking in the pícaro; what he does, he is expected to do for self-preservation. He, then, appears as a by-product of society, and his story becomes a novel of manners, customs, and wily adventures. Because the rogue himself tells his own story, it is largely autobiographical in character, but its chief interest lies in its faithful picturing of a class of society that has been submerged, but which finds no discomfort in, or condemnation for the submersion.

In Spain, until the fifteenth century, most of the literature was composed in court circles, and concerned Epics of legendary or mythological heroes and gods. Such writers as Juan Manuel introduced a perfect knight who can do no wrong, but who, after traversing various vicissitudes, emerges spiritually and physically victorious. This literature was handed down to a small group of people who ignored the larger group of people--common folk who sang their ballads of the Cid. One great exception came with Juan Ruiz during the fourteenth century, however. He it was who introduced a strong note of individuality into the literature that served to bring sooner the break from chivalresque novels. He was afraid of nothing, and described all kinds of people and things with an amazing and at times disconcerting frankness. His works took on a picaresque trend in rhyme, and into a literature crammed with the deeds of knights and nobility, he introduced a popular strain picked up from the common people and students with whom he associated. Juan Ruiz in his rebellion but marked the rumblings of a reaction that was bound to come sooner or later; and this reaction was first boldly expressed in a movement towards reality and nature as found in the appearance of "La Celestina", the first Spanish pícara. There is much controversy concerning whether this book should rightfully be called a novel or a drama, for though written entirely in dialogue and divided into long and complicated sections called "acts", its extreme length unfits it for acting. The book is confusing, even though the plot is a comparatively simple one, for it is filled with a long list of

minor characters who roam through the story with no apparent objective. Celestina is, of course, the motivating character, and our introduction into her home and companions makes a clear and graphic scene in low life. Although Calixto and Melibea are the typical hero and heroine of the preceding chivalresque novels, "La Celestina" marks a decided break toward the picaresque form of novel, for the personalities of the hero and heroine are submerged by the all-consuming one of Celestina, the greatest "go-between" of all literature. The servant, Sempronio, and other minor characters, are typical pícaros and are met with over and over again in the succeeding picaresque novels.

Then, during the sixteenth century, appeared the most famous and best-known of all picaresque novels, "La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes", with its much-quoted hero. Its success was immediate and great, and the soldier, beggar, and other common types of society came into their own. The portrait of the pícaro, as painted by Lazarillo, was a very real one, although perhaps not very flattering. The pícaro's merit lies in his terse abruptness; his clear understanding of nature; his good-natured, if bitter satire; his unstudied language; and his utter disregard for the niceties of society and of the senses. Lazarillo gives the reader a bold, clear picture of three great types in Spanish society: the priest, the "escudero", and the beggar. The pícaro has as an object the condemnation of vice and the combination of pleasure and profit. In "Guzmán de Alfarache", however, is found a great change in the pícaro as

a type. He sees the error of his ways and follows the high and narrow road to respectability. Once in a while, when he slips back into the cheating profession of the rogue, he quickly dons the robes of penitence and makes up for his error by long pages of moralizing that serve to divert our attention from the pícaro to the moral ideas of the author.

In the "Rinconete y Cortadillo" of Cervantes is found the best examples of low life and organized roguery to be found in any of the other picaresque novels. Here, is found the pícaro at his best, or worst, however one may look at it. It includes the typical pícaro-types of beggar, soldier, and so on down the line to the "bravo", the one-armed Manifero, with the pícaros working along with them. In Monipodio, we see the king of all pícaros, the over-lord as it were, who rules, directs, and punishes as the case may demand--a picture of the lowest life in Sevilla. The novel itself starts out with a description of two typical pícaros, who after a chance meeting at an inn, decide to continue the pursuit of their fortunes together from that time on. In the city, they come in contact with one of Monipodio's men who asks if they be, perchance, thieves. The two rogues answer that they are, and are forthwith taken before Monipodio, for no stealing or begging may be carried on in Sevilla by others than those belonging to the organized group captained by this master-pícaro. There is no hint of hypocrisy or satire present about the carefully tended altar, or even about the piety of the old woman who, in order to keep candles burning on the altar as a thank-offering for the successful theft of a

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bundle of old clothes, borrows some money with no idea of ever returning it: ¹"Mirad, niñas, si tenéis acaso algún cuarto para comprar las candelicas de mi devoción, porque con la priesa y gana que tenía de venir a traer las nuevas de la canasta, se me olvidó en casa la escarcela." Great a part as the band as a whole play in the novel, however, it is upon the two pícaros, Rinconete and Cortadillo, whose names are nicknames conferred upon them by Monipodio, that interest centers. No better portrait of the typical rogue can be found than that of the two ragamuffins as they first appear upon the scene. Both were ragged, shabby, and not overclean. They had no cloaks, their breeches were of coarse linen, ²"las medias eran de carne; bien es verdad que lo enmendaban los zapatos, porque los del uno eran alpargates, tan traídos como llevados, y los del otro, picados y sin suelas, de manera, que mas le servían de cormas que de zapatos. Traía el uno montera verde de cazador; el otro, un sombrero sin toquilla, bajo de copa y ancho de falda. A la espalda, y ceñida por los pechos, traía el uno una camisa de color de camuza, encerada, y recogida toda en una manga; el otro venía escueto y sin alforjas, puesto que en el seno se le parecía un gran bulto, que, a lo que despues pareció, era un cuello de los que llaman valones, almidonado con grasa, y tan deshilado de roto, que todo parecía hilachas.....Estaban los dos quemados del sol, las unas caireladas, y las manos no muy limpias; el uno tenía una media espada, y el otro, un cuchillo de cachas amarillas que los suelen llamar vaquesor." Among his meagre possessions, Rinconete had stowed away a badly soiled pack of

¹ "Rinconete y Cortadillo", page 31

² "Rinconete y Cortadillo", page 3-4

cards, for with such did he ply his trade. Cortadillo, on the other hand, was a purse-snatcher, succeeding in his work by first cutting the pockets of his victims. Meeting by chance, greeting each other with stately and solemn courtesy, it does not take the two pícaros long to get acquainted, and soon they reach the point of exchanging bits of their lives, and reasons for leaving the old life to better their fortunes. Before long, they decide to earn themselves some easy money by combining to cheat a muleteer; to do this, they play with Rinconete's cards. Once in Sevilla, however, they hire themselves out as basket-boys, whose task it is to accompany householders to market and bring home the provisions in the baskets. This business of being basket-boys only serves as a screen for their rogue activities, of course, but they soon learn that, skilled as they are in their trades learned in the country, they are as naught compared with those practised in the city--a city, too, composed of pícaros where the entire group of rogues, from petty thieves to master cutthroats, is organized into a guild, under one leader and each with his own separate territory of work.

The pícaro has little, or no, imagination, so in his story it counts for nothing. He has, however, an excellent memory which supplies an abundance of adventures, and the rough experiences through which the rogue passes, untouched with sympathy, gives a setting of coarse and unromantic realism--a radical change from the idealism of the hero and heroine of the chivalresque novels that have gone before. These principles are admirably exemplified by Quevedo's "El Gran Tacano", in the

person of Pablos. Here, we find an excellent piece of work, and in Pablos, a representative type among Spanish pícaros. He is a shameless character, but to a certain extent, more consistent than the average pícaro. He does not falter or slow down, but rushes the reader through a clear and colorful description of scenes of low life. Wherever he appears, he is the center of action, but his character is saddened and made undesirable because of scenes of the most squalid and criminal intensity. In this book, Quevedo seems to show no distinction between folly and vice. Each of these, he treats to the same bitter scourge of merciless satire. Repulsive detail runs rampant through the novel, and contempt and hatred for fellow-man is the picaro's feeling.

Thus it is that the pícaro struck his roots deep in Spanish literature and developed in his own inimitable way through the sixteenth century and seventeenth century. Lope de Vega was quick to catch on to the dramatic possibilities of the Spanish pícaro and moved him over to the stage as a renowned character of Spanish comedy. His "gracioso" whose great cowardice, rascality, and thievery are advanced is nothing less than the pícaro only slightly changed, and working in new surroundings under a new name.

Final Development of the Pícaro

Before the pícaro's final decadence and downfall came, he was destined to undergo an emergence of personality which brought him out of his story, and made him of importance aside from his adventures and experiences. As a story-teller, the pícaro shows himself more than proficient. The story is told with wit and energy and with a realism that covers nothing. He begins at the very beginning of his life and hurries on, tracing his advance from one master to another with not one lingering, backward glance or philosophizing on what has gone before. Unlike many of his imitators, Lazarillo, at the conclusion of his story has attained a position of comparative honor, for as town-crier, he enters into the service of the king--the ambition of all classes. In the satisfaction resulting from the realization of a goal accomplished, he forgets past miseries and wrongs. Thus, of low birth in the bed of the River Tormes, Lazarillo comes up through the vicissitudes of life, by means of the tricks and frauds of his trade, to a position of respect and honesty.

As the Spanish pícaro gained in popularity, and became recognized by readers of all classes, he emerged from his story as a character in his own right, and soon became a person with a career of importance. The rogue's story became a story in which interest was focussed on the observer of society--the pícaro to whom things happened--and not on society itself. Emphasis is placed more and more on his roguish tricks and ways simply because he is recognized as a rogue, and not because they

result from unfavorable circumstances. The pícaro is no longer emphasized as a victim of a cruel Fate that makes him what he is, but his frauds are found to be expressive of his personality, character, or types he may play. In Ceñudo, the fool of Barbadillo's "El Necio bien Afortunado", is discovered the new trend of the pícaro's character. Here is a rogue who, dubbed a fool in his youth, finds it to his advantage to remain such, since all good things that happen to him, happen to him for being a fool, while misfortunes befall for being wise. Careful to have people think him poor, he is able to enjoy the advantages of riches without any of their disadvantages. Thus, this hero, or anti-hero, becomes more than a mere rogue. His wit is more than a wit of action, it is a cynical wit of thought and word; and spurred on by the demands of a grasping avarice, Ceñudo opens a way for the new pícaro, and the last of the illustrious list of rogues.

As the pícaro changes in character, he leans more and more towards a criminal life, and becomes a frequenter of criminal circles, jails, and the galleys. Instead of a boy forced by Fate and different masters to take up a life of fraudulent gains and tricks in order to survive, he changes to an advocate of crime; and from the bright, witty, and likable Lazarillo, Rinconete, Cortadillo, and their companions, surrounded by their realistic settings, we turn to a new pícaro of crime who is soon to develop into the later "gracioso", anti-hero of drama and popularized by Lope de Vega.

It was inevitable, however, despite his great popularity,

that in time the pícaro should fall from public favor. To a public weary of a perfect hero, the anti-hero, who rubbed elbows with all classes of society, came as a breath of fresh air. The idea of a rogue telling his own story; serving many masters; matching cheat against cheat, wit against wit; satirizing all classes of society--even the Church, was too much of a change to last long after the first thrill of novelty had worn off. The pícaro in himself had no more topics of interest or entertainment to offer than had the perfect knight of the chivalresque novels, only his world was a realistic world, he met real people, and his story was his own life-story, told by himself. Therefore, the first popularity of the pícaro was as a rest from the impossible, unfailingly perfect knights who preceded him and of whom the public had wearied. As the hero had wearied, however, it was but natural to expect that the extreme opposite would in time grow tiresome, and a reversion from raw realism would follow. A strain of idealism takes place, and in the later pícaros, as in Menses' "Soldado Píndaro", the rogue becomes more than a mere adventurer. The element of something more than mere bodily experiences enters in, and a questioning of the fact of the existence of a soul which through various transformations progresses to an attainment of virtue becomes important. With the strain of idealism, the pícaro shows that he is capable of emotion, and a generous nature asserts itself. Lazarillo de Tormes, the first great pícaro, had exhibited such a tendency, however, in his kind treatment of his most lovable master, the poor and proud hidalgo.

Among the new pícaros is found "El Diablo Cojuelo". Here, a new mechanism of picaresque material is unfolded, and we find Don Cleofás singularly free from the ordinary routine of the pícaro. When he flees to the attic to escape the attentions of Doña Tomasa, and releases the lame devil of the astrologer from the phial, he does not need to go through the service of many masters, each one of different rank from his predecessor, in order to get a view of the inside life of the various classes of society. Carried here and there by the diablo's magic and aided by Rufina María, he is shown all that is going on in Madrid. It is the diablo cojuelo who undertakes the pícaro's task and saves Don Cleofás from Tomasa's clutches, and returns him, a disillusioned young man, to complete his studies at Alcalá, while he himself is summoned back to hell. Thus, the pícaro influenced by romantic and moral themes in his story, becomes less of a pícaro. So, although not truly a picaresque novel, this seventeenth century work of Guevara's is usually considered the last important work in the picaresque style. The aerial tour of Madrid taken by Cleofás, during which the roofs of individual houses are raised, allowing him to view at close range the lives of Madrid's citizens, and the observations resulting furnish an interesting bit of satire on social conditions and life.

Thus ended the progress of a type that enjoyed so much popularity in Spain. Such was the destiny of the Spanish rogue. As a protest against novels of chivalry, he brought into vogue a novel of manners and pointed the way to a modern novel.

To complete the paper with a comprehensive summary, then, let us go back to the beginning of the romances of roguery, and the pícaro's first start as a type in Spanish literature during the sixteenth century. The pícaro was distinctly at home in Spain, and first struck root in the literature of that country, following the chivalresque novel with its perfect hero who was capable of doing no wrong whatsoever. However, after a long career of growth in Spain, the pícaro went abroad to France, Germany, and England; he displayed his wares, was accepted, and was incorporated into the literature of those countries. He was no longer the Spanish rogue, however, for the manners and customs that differed with different countries, modified his character to a certain extent. After almost a century of careful training in France, the pícaro reached the heights in "Gil Blas de Santillana" by the Jesuit Priest, Padre Isla. Much controversy has been aroused by this book because of its essentially Spanish character, yet there is a wide gulf between the French "Gil Blas", and the Spanish "Lazarillo". The pícaro in England marked a digression from the novel written for the story to one written for the character. Thus, the pícaro pointed a sure advance toward the modern novel. Although the pícaro began as entirely Spanish, yet we find before his appearance in Spain, indications of the picaresque in Greek novels, especially in the "Golden Ass" by Apuleius, in that the hero was a victim of chance and Fate and not of his own deeds. In the early picaresque novels, we find an emphasis placed not on the pícaro himself but on his deeds and their affects upon his character.

As in the field of dramatics, the masque gives way to the anti-masque, so the pícaro becomes an anti-hero, and in the realm of the novel the hero gives way to the anti-hero. The study of actual life, its troubles, faults, hopes, is the aim of this anti-hero, and observation and participation are his methods, with the things of everyday his subject. As a consequence, the repulsive to sight, sound, and touch appeal to the rogue; no refinement or nicety appears. This, of course, makes the picaresque novel extremely realistic as opposed to the idealism of those novels which preceded it. Instead of the noble sword, the duel, and the listing fields, the pícaro uses as his weapons trickery, fraudulent gain, and lives entirely by his wits. To explain the pícaro, a product of the decadence, a bit has been said of the conditions in Spain at this time. The social conditions were undergoing a radical change; the downfall of feudalism brought the common people into their rights, but at the same time, along with the nobles, the people lost old rights and laws. As a result, neither class was sure where it stood, and confusion reigned. The only ways of advancement came through the Church, the army, and the civil administration. But most men disdained to stoop to the slow and patient process of gaining a living for themselves, and with the expulsion of the Jews and "moriscos", the only people left who had not scorned common toil, a heavy blow was dealt to productive labor. A complete lack of thrift at home was balanced by fortunate gains abroad, but when the wanderer returned home, he became the victim of those who had remained at home, who, if they could not

starve, and would not work, must resort to begging in order to live. In this way, quick wits took the place of patient hands, and fraudulent ways of gaining a livelihood took the place of honest labor. People lived from hand to mouth, and chivalry became converted into roguery. Those peasants who remained at home, true to their early professions received as a reward only oppression, heavy taxes, and forced to face starvation, down-trodden and disregarded, turned to roguery as the only way out, and became a rogue among rogues. The selfishness and individualism that resulted fostered an indifference to pain and suffering in others that grew with the pícaro. Thus, the social conditions in Spain brought about forces that led to a radical change in the literature, and the pícaro, a vigorous protest against existing circumstances, was born.

The mechanics of the picaresque novel, and of the pícaro himself are very simple. The rogue is introduced and proceeds to tell his own story. He is born of poor parents and grows up as best he may. His lessons are learned by hard raps in life's own school, and he soon learns that in order to survive, he must care for himself. The pícaro passes from one master to another, each of whom is a rogue, and each of whom he succeeds in out-witting. The novel is brought to a close after the pícaro has run through the changes of fortune, yet the story is not really ended, since the pícaro has not completed his life.

Often the rogue, like Lazarillo, attains to some goal; more often, he is as bad off at the conclusion as he was at the beginning. Out of the selfishness grows avarice, naturally, but

it is not an unpleasant avarice. Since he must struggle against society for a living and since the outcome of this struggle must be a survival of the fittest, the pícaro discovers that avarice is a most saving grace. Because the rogue holds material gain above everything else, friendship and love become secondary in the picaresque novel. The pícaro makes no friends whom he would not betray for even a slight advantage to himself, and marriages that are contracted are done so because they happen to be of profit to him. The rogue may be excused for his entrance into the realm of roguery, however, since his only other alternative is starvation--and life is as attractive and dear to the pícaro as it is to anyone.

Because the pícaro's scale of emotions is usually low, there is but little character-development. His progress, therefore, after he has entered upon the pathway of fraud, is one of advance and of sharpening of wits in order to increase his opportunities. He seems to have been deprived of all choice, but to him it makes no difference, the past is gone, and the future is too distant to be important, but the present is right at hand, in which he must live and prosper, however he may. He knows not much of either despair or hope. When defeat comes, he refuses to be discouraged, but makes the best of bad luck; when success comes, with an equal indifference, he spends his money in the nearest inn.

To the pícaro, life is but a problem to be avoided as best one may. He is a most entertaining companion for all, and is as much at home in the squalid hut of his confrères as he is in the

diplomatic circles of Rome. He is an inconsistent rogue--now kneeling before the Church altar, now begging, now making love. He rarely stops to think and can hardly say what he really believes. At common superstitions he sniffs in utter disdain. Therefore, the rogue's greatest importance lies not in what he does and says, but in what he experiences and suffers.

Like Lazarillo, who took his name from the bed of the river in which he was born, the Spanish rogue is born into strange conditions--conditions which pave the way for his career of trickery and fraud. The pícaros soon begin on such a career, and usually keep it up to the end of their story. The rogue's versatility allows him to play many types with equal ease, but whatever he does, he is always subjected to events. Everything is dependent upon chance and Fate, and nothing upon the rogue himself; about him turns a description of society in its manners and customs.

Thus, the picture which he draws of contemporary life must be a faithful one. The pícaro treats with the low classes and advances to higher ones with Lazarillo whose first term of service is with a cruel blind beggar. He passes to a priest, a poor "escudero", and finally attains the position of public-crier.

The characters which throng the pages of the picaresque novel consist of students, robbers, gypsies, barbers, players, and beggars, and with each of these, the pícaro is on intimate terms. The soldier plays a leading part in picaresque-life, and is found in "Marcos de Obregón" when the troop to which

Marcos belongs, which is tireless in the art of thievery, comes to grief and falls to disgrace. Everything is taken as a matter of course, and the soldier-pícaro turns his profession to advantage when, receiving his preliminary enlistment fee, he pretends wounds, takes refuge in the Church, and so escapes active duty.

The law, too, plays an important part in the pícaro's life although as expected, attention centers chiefly on the officers of justice. Courage is the butt of the pícaro's satire, for it is noticeably lacking in the officers of the law. Profit is obtained from this office, for bribes are very popular, and many "reales" pass into the pícaro's hands to insure comfort in jail, or even to secure freedom itself. It is noticeable that the guilty are never apprehended and punished, but always the innocent are marched off to suffer through error and carelessness.

As opposed to the handling of the army and the law, we have a spirit of tender wit displayed toward the Church. The satire is less harsh, and more likely than not, not meant seriously in any manner. In the "Pícaro Justina", a large space is devoted to the Church, and Justina in her attitude toward sacred things, is incorrigible; but in this book, by means of a system of morals added to each chapter, the most sacrilegious utterances are given an appearance of respectability. The chief attack of the pícaro launched against the Church is the element of immorality prevailing, but even here, there is more merriment at the clergy's expense than condemnation of its behavior. The class that suffers most condemnation from the pícaros is the pious

hermit class. Although they profess to be out of tune with the world, they never miss an opportunity to turn chance to their profit; and most choose this profession only as a cloak to hide their roguery. Only occasionally, as in "Marcos de Obregón" or "Lazarillo de Tormes", is found an honest hermit. Most are like Crispín in Solórzano's "La Garduña de Sevilla", who is the chief pícaro among hermits. They profess to know nothing of the art of card-playing, yet when they do play, manage to fleece their partners; they act as receivers for robbers, bandits, and beggars, and each hermit has the foresight to lay by some gold in case of a troublesome day.

The pícaro is not so careful in his handling of the doctors, however, and they are treated to the bitterest satire. The pícaro-doctors take people at a disadvantage and in their weakened conditions, succeed in persuading them to accept the most freakish of cures. Naught seems to shake the people's faith in their physicians, and seeing this, the pícaro is not slow in taking advantage of it. Of this, we have an example in the "Pícaro Justina" when the doctor, really but a barber, succeeds in duping his patient to the extent of gaining an excellent meal for himself. All sorts of people pose as physicians and with high-sounding phrases and unpronounceable words, so confuse the poor sufferer that he hardly knows what to expect.

Next, we come to the innkeepers of the romances of roguery, who are the least desirable of all pícaros. They play a rather unimportant and secondary part, yet come under the head of a

pícaro-type. Such a pícaro robs from his guest whatever he can, and in return gives unappetizing food, a filthy bed, and but a mere pretence of service. If there be, perchance, an honest and well-intentioned host, his ill-luck is phenomenal and he soon learns that there is no profit in it for him.

The hidalgo, however, as opposed to the innkeeper, is the most likable of all figures. He, for the most part, escapes the bitter satire of the pícaro, exciting in his heart instead an almost unheard-of feeling of pity and protectiveness. Such a one we find in the poor and proud nobleman of Lazarillo's acquaintance, whom Lazarillo served as a page. Walking the streets from morning to night, well-dressed and important-appearing, he is nearly starving, but too proud to admit such a fact to be true. Lazarillo reverts to his old trade of beggary, and manages to maintain not only himself, but also his poor "escudero". There is really only one bad fault that these noblemen have and that fault lies in their great pride. For this, however, we can find no room in our hearts for blame. Close upon the hidalgos follow the less-important muleteers, barbers, and players. Because the pícaro is an inveterate wanderer, the life of an actor appeals to him strongly until he discovers that it is not all play and travel and no work, and that there are times when he is forced to sleep on the ground with arms crossed in order to keep warm.

Mastery of the art of begging is one of the pícaro's chief stocks-in-trade. He learns how to please the rich and poor alike; he is taught the art of raising swellings, of painting

ulcers and lacerations, and of feigning pallor and weakness. Each one has his individual tricks which he uses to advantage, and each like Guzmán, never tires of expounding at length upon the beauties and charms of his trade, although it has become more or less a fixed habit. Among his other lessons, is a lesson on flattery, and the rogue soon learns that a bit of flattery, diplomatically used, will bring him in four or five "reales" whereas but one would have been his portion without the clever flattery and praise.

From these so-called "mendicants" we go on to the organized groups of pícaros. Chief among these is that found in Cervantes' "Rinconete y Cortadillo", where Monipodio, lord of them all, rules with an iron hand. In this novel, we find the best description of organized crime to be found in any work of literature anywhere. Here, are all classes of the pícaro-types united into one body, ruled over by one head, and each pícaro, assigned to a territory, is held responsible for whatever thievery may go on in that particular territory. Each pícaro is classified according to his way of begging and each class carries on its work according to its individual rules and regulations. Thus, we find that of necessity, there is a strong influence of the rogue's profession upon his character. He becomes a wanderer, living by his wits alone, surviving from hand to mouth with no thought for the future. In the all-consuming present, he finds his meat, and if he one day attain to some goal beyond his fondest dreams, he accepts it all as a matter-of-course, and with a shrug of his shoulders, dismisses

it as unworthy of his consideration. He passes from master to master with a disregard that is remarkable, in but a few cases, forming no alliances. The pícaro, as he lives and learns, becomes sharp witted and canny, and as he gets deeper and deeper into his profession, his character becomes calloused and unsympathetic. A strain of courage and sympathy crops out once in a while, however, from the depths of his soul as in the case of Lazarillo's attitude towards his proud hidalgo, and for this hidden loveliness in the pícaro's character, we find him surprisingly likable. Sly and crafty as he may be, however, there is nothing criminal in his activities. The pícaro is forced into the life he leads by chance, and in order to live, he must steal and beg. The criminal, on the other hand, plans his deeds with malice aforethought. The criminal we despise and scorn, the pícaro we disapprove of, but like.

As the pícaro progresses, he tends to emerge as a personality. He takes the foreground while his deeds fade into the background. Of low birth, like Lazarillo, the rogue comes up somehow through the trickery of his trade to a position of often comparative ease. Therefore, he emerges with a career of his own, and because he is a rogue, importance is placed on his roguishness as expressive of his character, of him himself, and not as mere frauds resulting from unfavorable circumstances. Intrigues take secondary place and attention is placed always on the pícaro. In the later picaresque novels, there is placed an emphasis on the possibility of soul that may be developed and made to grow. The anti-hero becomes more than a mere rogue.

Thus, is prepared the way for the new pícaro.

The pícara fills a very definite niche in the picaresque novels and by the side of the pícaro exercises her wiles and tricks in order to extract from rich suitors what she desires. The best known of the Spanish pícaras is Celestina, the motivating force in the tragedy of Calixto and Melibea. Her character is not agreeable, however, and much less amusing than that of the much-married Teresa of Solórzano's novel of the same name. Teresa is the typical pícara of the Spanish novels; she never wearies of ill-doing, but, nevertheless, is amusing in her wit and determination to overcome all obstacles.

With a change in the pícaro's personality, comes a change in the novels resulting from the picaresque novels, for here is found a pícaro who is concerned with low life in the criminal circles. Prison-life results and the pícaro becomes an advocate of crime. Thus, toward the end of the seventeenth century the influence of the pícaro wanes and from the bright and witty Lazarillo, Guzmán, and Marcos, we advance to the "gracioso", dramatic anti-hero of the Spanish stage. The inevitability of the pícaro's downfall was apparent, however, for the theme of a rogue serving many masters and surviving by his wits, was too odd to last long after its first novelty had worn off. The greatness of the pícaro rested on his conception of a world that was genuine and real, and so much his very own. However, the anti-hero wearied the people, even as the hero before him, and he becomes less of a rogue and more of an adventurer, with a reversion to idealism. To that character was added a soul

which should gradually develop through various transformations until it should attain virtue.

In the diablo cojuelo is discovered a pícaro who is at the same time free from most of the picaresque devices. Cleofás with the aid of the diablo, has no need to serve many masters in order to see Madrid, but depends upon his aid to show him the inside of the households. Through the introduction of romantic principles, the Spanish pícaro loses his original character.

And so we come to the end of the Spanish pícaro as a type in Spanish literature. He enjoyed a long and popular life full of exploitation and interest, but with everything else that lives, finally wearied the fickle public and had to give way to a newer development of thought in literature. The Spanish pícaro, however, did not give way until he had stamped his name with indelible ink on the pages of the literature of all countries, and to Spain, his creator, he left a name of fame and illustriousness known and recognized throughout every land.

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